सत्यमेव जयते

REPORT

OF

THE COMMITTEE

ON

SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION ● GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

1971

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MINISTRY OF EDUCATION & YOUTH SERVICES

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

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REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

1 1. Appointment of the Committee

It had been repeatedly brought to the notice of the Government of India that some of the textbooks prescribed for schools in several States, contained certain passages in respect of which objection was raised by certain sections of minority communities on the ground that they hurt their feelings and militated against the directive principles of the Constitution. The matter had also been raised in Parliament The Government of India, Ministry of Education, therefore, set up a committee on September 1, 1966 under the chairmanship of Prof. K. G. Saiyidain, Director of the Asian Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi, to examine the issue and to advise the Government of India on the principles to be adopted in the preparation and assessment of textbooks suitable for a secular State.

1.2. The Composition of the Committee

The Committee consisted of the following members:

1. Prof. K. G. Saiyidain............Chairman
2. Shri J. P. Naik
   Adviser, Ministry of Education
3. Dr. V. S. Jha
   Member, Education Commission
4. Shri Hayatullah Ansari, M.P.
   Editor, Quami Awaz, Lucknow
5. Shri Gopi Nath Aman
   Delhi
6. Dr. R. H. Dave
   Head of the Department of Curriculum and Textbooks, National Council of Education Research and Training

7. Mrs. S. Doraiswami.................. Secretary
Assistant Educational Adviser
Ministry of Education

1.3 Terms of Reference of the Committee

The terms of reference of the Committee were as follows :

(a) To examine the specific complaints regarding books brought to the notice of the Committee from different States, and to test their validity with particular reference to the need for promoting inter-communal and inter-regional understanding;

(b) To state the general principles to be adopted in the preparation and assessment of textbooks with special reference to the teaching of languages, history and social studies; and

(c) To suggest a practical programme of action for the preparation and assessment of textbooks prepared on the basis of principles so enunciated.

1.4. The Committee confined its examination to textbooks of languages, social studies and history, firstly because the complaints received largely referred to these books, and secondly because it is books, more than any others, that serve as vehicles of prejudiced opinions and judgements and can misrepresent historical facts in such a way as to harm the minds of young people. If properly handled, it is these books that can function most efficiently as powerful instruments of national and emotional integration.

1.5 Procedures Followed

The Committee held eight meetings in the course of its work. In addition to discussing the various aspects of the problem, and critically examining some of the textbooks

of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, the members interviewed representatives of minority communities, representatives of the Education Departments of Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan, and a few eminent educationists. The Education Department, Madhya Pradesh, was invited but was unable to send a representative to meet the Committee in spite of repeated invitations. The Committee also met the then Vice-President, Dr. Zakir Husain, and had the benefit of discussing the problem with him. The list of persons interviewed has been given at *Appendix A*. The members would like to take this opportunity to place on record their gratitude to all those who found time to meet the Committee and exchange views with it fully and frankly.

II. THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

2.1. While textbooks, nationalised as well as otherwise, have often been criticised on educational grounds for various shortcomings of content, presentation and production, the language and history textbooks, suffer from another kind of defect that has tended to be generally overlooked, namely, that they contain passages which are likely to hurt the religious sentiments of certain minority religious communities. This has caused concern and distress among certain sections of the people who have at intervals referred the fact to the authorities concerned. Obviously, there has not been much improvement in the situation over the years due either to insensitiveness of authors to the feelings and points of view of other religious groups or to indifference or carelessness on their part No attempt has been made so far by the Government, to our knowledge, to lay down any clear-cut policy or guide-line on how religious and historical material should be presented in textbooks for young children.

2.2 The main complaints pertaining to the defects in the books which concern us, in the context of our terms of reference, are as follows :

(i) The language readers are over-weighted with Hindu mythology and cultural and historical figures connected with Hindu history or culture, and there are comparatively very few figures taken from other cultures or religions which are as integral a part of Indian history and culture.

(ii) Sanskrit has been made for some years a compulsory part of Hindi textbooks in U.P. which are studied by students of all communities and most of the poetry and prose selections in Sanskrit are understandably prayers to Hindu deities and stories from Hindu mythology. Children from other religious groups are obliged to learn these prayers by heart and read these stories, although their religious principles may run contrary to the beliefs involved.

(iii) Mythological episodes and Hindu beliefs are sometimes presented as if they were universally accepted by all Indians, irrespective of their different religious affiliation.

(iv) In history textbooks also, there is a preponderance of Hindu personalities—religious and historical—and sufficient recognition is not given to great personages and saints of other religions.

(v) In some history textbooks certain historical incidents are depicted in such a manner that they tend to arouse ill-will or hatred against certain other religious groups and personalities. This is obviously detrimental to the promotion of mutual understanding, tolerance and goodwill among young people belonging to different religious communities. It hampers attempts to bring about national integration.

III. FINDINGS ABOUT SOME EXISTING TEXTBOOKS

3.1 The Committee examined some of the language, history and social studies textbooks of some Hindi-speaking States and found that, while not every complaint made by religious minorities was correct, and some appeared exaggerated perhaps as the result of over-sensitiveness and suspicion, some of them did have a measure of validity. We have given in *Appendix B* a few such passages, by way of examples, which are either objectionable from the point of view of students of some communities or inadvisable on educational grounds or because they present a partial view. If the object is to make these books acceptable to all the children in the schools of a secular State, they will have to be carefully revised in their contents and approach. During the British period many complaints were made by Indians about some of the books used in mission schools. We should obviously avoid the possibility of repeating the same mistakes and refrain from including any objectionable material to which exception can be taken reasonably. It is well to remember that a sophisticated adult mind can look beyond the mythological symbols to the underlying significance, and, therefore, find nothing very objectionable in them, but the indiscriminate selection of mythological episodes in the readers and the unskilled handling of them by the authors are apt to give the child an impression of factuality to what is purely mythological. He is apt to take mythological stories and anecdotes as facts of reality. In the selection of textbooks meant for children, the attempt should, therfore, be to approve those which help to produce in the minds of children a modern, rational and progressive outlook and not an obscurantist attitude. There are many tenets of Hindu religion as well as those of others which have a universal significance and there are literary passages from old text which for sheer beauty and charm of expression merit inclusion in the best of textbooks. These can be so chosen as not to affect the susceptibilities of any religious group. There is, therefore, no reason

why lessons or passages of doubtful ethical and literary standard which are likely to inculcate wrong values should find place in our school books.

3.2 The complaints are directed towards both nationalised textbooks as well as those prescribed by selection from among books presented by private publishers. Evidently, the machinery provided for reviewing and selection, and for ensuring that inappropriate contents are eliminated if there is any such machinery at all—does not function satisfactorily nor does it exercise sufficient vigilance.

3.3. It must, however, be pointed out that there is no evidence to show that there is any overt or explicit attempt to teach the Hindu faith and to indoctrinate the youth in schools. Proselytisation is traditionally foreign to Hindu attitude. However, a very wrong impression is created by thoughtless indifference of some of the textbook-writers to the susceptibilities of people of other faiths and by a poor unimaginative selection of mythological themes. This is because many authors of textbooks do not fully realise that what they write is likely to be resented by other communities. Lacking in accurate and full knowledge of the other religions of the country, they tend to confine themselves—sometimes in quite good faith—to Hindu mythology and religion, and the books often reflect only the writer's own knowledge, feelings or convictions. He is apt to forget that, in writing a book for children, he is not just engaged in expressing a personal point of view but in discharging a serious civic and national responsibility. This insensitive and unimaginative attitude is also often found in the reviewers and members of committees—whether government officials or others—who are entrusted with the scrutiny and approval of textbooks. It has been a matter of surprise to us that although such complaints have been repeatedly brought to the forefront and placed before some of the State Governments for many years, no

effective or radical policy nor any corrective measure has been adopted for eradicating them.

3.4 In such a matter, so very vital to the building up of national integration, concrete guidance and policy-direction should have been provided by the Governments concerned. Such clear-cut policy-direction has not been given so far, either by the Centre or by the States, with the result that neither the authors of textbooks nor reviewers have any guidelines to follow in the treatment of religious and historical material in textbooks for young children or in making their final selections.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Treatment of Religion in Textbooks

The first question that must be answered in this connection is whether religious material should at all be included in language textbooks. The primary objective of language readers is to teach the language effectively, according to proper educational principles. However, in the Indian situation, language is often inextricably woven with religious sentiments, myths and legends associated with the Hindu faith as with others. To give up such literature altogether would deprive the younger generation of a rich literary cultural heritage and impoverish their minds. A truly secular state is not an irreligious or anti-religious state; it is one in which full religious freedom is ensured to every citizen, and in which no religion is accorded any specially favoured treatment. The fundamental principle of our national life is that it assures respect for all religions and promotes the spirit of tolerance for people who profess different faiths. When this principle is violated in practice, the Constitution stands violated. It is, therefore, necessary that the children should not be shut off from the knowledge of their own religion or that of others They should be taught to understand them and

to live with people who profess other faiths. A knowledge of other cultural streams which constitute the heritage of the country should be necessary for all children whether they belong to the majority or minority communities, for without it they will be unable to play their part properly as responsible citizens of our secular multi-culture society. Textbooks should, therefore, endeavour in their limited way to acquaint the pupils with the basic truths of all religions and the contribution which they have made to the development of human values. In order to achieve this object a balanced presentation should be given in textbooks on various religions of the people of India.

4.2 There should be no objection on the part of any one to know the main articles of faith of persons belonging to other religions. In fact, it is necessary that they should, because we live within a multi-religious society. However, the children of these communities should not be made to believe that the practices peculiar to any religion are prataces approved by all religions nor be asked to take part in them.

4.3 There is obviously, need for maintaining some reasonable kind of balance in any textbook between religious and non-religious material bearing on the life of the community. A disproportionate emphasis on mythological or religious material and the comparative neglect of scientific, social, intellectual or aesthetic expressions of man is not in keeping with the needs of a growing society which is trying to modernise itself. It is quite conceivable, for instance, to have good language readers which do not include any religious or mythological themes, without any real loss to the child.

4.4 In presenting any religious material, textbooks should provide information about religions and not seek to provide any denomination's religious instruction. Besides, when the mythology or beliefs of a particular religious community are mentioned they should not be presented as

if they are acceptable to all the communities of India. For example, when talking about the river Ganges, to say that "the river is considered sacred by the Hindus" would be more appropriate and correct than the statement "the Ganges is considered a sacred river by all of us". One can, of course, talk of the great advantages which the Ganges brings to the life of millions in our country but it is incorrect to assume that its sanctity is accepted by all.

4 5 Treatment of Mythology in Textbooks

In this connection it is necessary to examine in a broader context, the extent to which language readers should have lessons bearing on mythology The answer lies in what we wish to achieve through the language readers and what mythology can contribute to the desired end. We cannot discuss here the general functions of language readers in the programming of education of the children in different school stages These purposes are well known and so are the principles of planning the themes and contents of readers. We must, however, take note of one important consideration, namely, that the textbooks of tomorrow must be forward-looking and prepare the pupils for living in a fast changing world in which old frontiers are fast crumbling Modernisation is marked by a Copernican change from the attitude prevalent in the past, in which legends and mythology originally came to birth. The forces of nature were observed with a sense of awe and inevitability and human freedom of action was confined to the limits imposed by the stern realities of nature In the age of scientific and technological revolution, man has gained confidence in his power to make nature yield to his wishes A new sense of achievement created by the growing power of science has opened up fresh avenues of human interests and efforts The characteristic urges of the technological era allow but a limited scope for mythology which has value to the extent that it contributes an ingredient of our ancient culture and legacy. We, no doubt, owe

a debt to the past; and we must realise that the 'present moves with the weight of the past on its back'. Nevertheless, we cannot afford to become a slave to the past and the textbooks should pay due heed to the new aspirations and hopes of the younger generation. More interesting and modern themes can, and should be considered for inclusion in order to prepare a rational mind. When man went into space as one of our witnesses put it, "he became a citizen of the universe; not a captive of his geographical or exclusive cultural frontiers".

4.6 This is not to belittle the place of mythology in textbooks Mythological themes are essential to fulfil certain educational purposes. For example, mythology helps the child understand literary allusions in the literature and poetry of the past as well as the classical background of our ancient people. Some mythological stories have very appealing moral content of universal acceptability. Such themes can be chosen and used profitably to convey essential values of life to the young. Since the study of literature contributes to the enrichment of imagination and some of the mythological stories—Indian as well as foreign—are excellent and interesting examples of flights of imagination, they can be usefully included in textbooks and supplementary reading materials, within reason. However, the inclusion of mythology should always be purposeful. As we have a variety of cultures in our country and each of these has its own mythological associations, the limited room for mythology in the readers will have to be shared in reasonable proportion by their different traditions. We must remember, however, that through our textbooks, we are trying to produce a modern, secular and rational mind, receptive to the total heritage of the human race and able to live in this age of space travel, nuclear energy and other spectacular technological changes.

4 7 The possibility of including religious and mythological material pertaining to various religions being limited,

by space as well as by the spirit of the age, there is need for a more careful and rigorous exercise of selection Such selection, as we have stated, should be purposeful and dictated by what is good for the cultivation of the spirit of national integration. It should help to strengthen the bonds of understanding among the peoples of the country and to inculcate in the young learners the spirit of understanding and appreciation The object of education given in schools is not primarily to train children as Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, etc, but as good, broadminded, tolerant, Indian citizens. The actual religious training of children should be primarily the function of parents or religious organisations or special schools set up by them for the purpose This cannot, obviously, be taken up by the State educational system.

4 8 Place of Sanskrit

While an examination of the three-language formula is outside our terms of reference, it is obvious to us that compulsory instruction in Sanskrit, however desirable it may be for some sections of our people, is not a part of the formula. The practice in some States to teach Sanskrit compulsorily as a part of Hindi, is not in keeping with the spirit of the formula On the contrary, it appears to be an escape from it The Sanskrit Commission too, has not envisaged the compulsory study of Sanskrit. We recognise that Sanskrit has a very important cultural position in the country and that its study should be encouraged as widely as possible among the students and in a much more serious manner. But this should be done only on a voluntary and optional basis If a subject like Sanskrit is taught for a very short period by indifferent teachers on sentimental considerations, the child may be able to acquire the barest smattering of it but he will not reach the break-through point at which its practical and cultural possibilities can become real and be utilised for educational purposes. Educationally, therefore, it will mean a good deal of waste

4.9 Lessons which are in the nature of formal worship or prayer should not be included in language textbooks, even when they are harmless. They are likely to be suspected because custom associates them not with their underlying meaning or literary charm but with the accepted modes of worship peculiar to particular religions. School books should, so far as possible, avoid selections of denominational prayers, for inclusion in textbooks. It is doubtful if the most careful selection will succeed in excluding poems and prose passages from Sanskrit texts which have some bearing on the Hindu religious sentiments. These have to be read with reference to the context in which they were written and the people for whom they were written. Those who read them should also cultivate breadth of mind to understand the background in which they were written and learn to appreciate whatever is worthwhile in them. The teacher's guidance in helping to cultivate correct attitudes in dealing with these passages is very necessary. Their inclusion will not create any problem when it is understood that the learning of Sanskrit will be optional.

4.10 The Education Commission has suggested the preparation of special material for moral and religious education in order to facilitate mutual understanding of religious and cultural attitudes in a multi-religious society. It would be more appropriate to include religious and mythological themes in these books than in the language readers which could then include more of secular material relevant to present-day needs.

4.11. **Teaching of History**

One of the most sensitive areas demanding delicate handling lies in the preparation of textbooks for history in the schools The discipline of the subject requires objectivity and precision and dispassionate study of facts. It would be unwise not to state facts with accuracy and objectivity in history readers, as there can be no compromise with truth This is an important element in the education

of the young. There is, however, an element of interpretation in the treatment of historical data and it is essential to ensure that history is interpreted in a manner which will assist in the cultivation of understanding and in promoting the sense of national integration It will do no good if historical facts or incidents are either mis-stated or ignored in schools. Those among the students who may later become scholars of history will feel resentment when they discover later that they were willfully fed on lies. The great challenge in the preparation of good history readers lies in the wise and careful selectivity of material. Greatest care and caution must be exercised by knowledgeable writers in including material which will neither entail sacrifice of truth nor of the elements required for the building up of a peaceful, tolerant-minded and united nation.

4.12 Much of the difficulty in the selection and treatment of historical matter would be overcome if we remember that generally speaking, the future is more important than the past and instead of spending time and energy in schools on unimportant controversies over past history, we laid stress on the fact that, as a people, we have to learn to live together and use the lessons of history for that purpose.

4.13 In view of the fact that in teaching Indian history in the past, during the British rule, stress has often been laid on religious differences and conflict, it is necessary that we should now highlight those situations—and they are legion—where people of all religious faiths have worked together in unity and cooperation. Where certain facts of history are important in themselves and cannot—and, indeed, should not—be ignored, they should be used wisely to show how these ugly episodes of the past are things of which all of us should be ashamed and everything should be done to avoid them in the future. This would, obviously, involve a creative and purposeful reinterpretation of history and a judicious selection of historical truths. The interests of

national unity and the needs of a modernising society should be the primary considerations in our choice and presentation of material

4 14 The problem of selecting content is thus of great importance in the early stages of teaching history when the guiding principle should be *not* to give *all* the facts but to pick out those which may exercise the desired influence on the minds of children This is not, as is sometimes suggested, a falsification of history but a recognition of the obvious fact that it is literally impossible to present *all* facts. In fact, there is no special educational virtue in burdening the children's mind with "old, unhappy, far-off things and battles long ago" If there were wars and conflicts between rulers of the same religion or of different religions or wars of conquest and enslavement or acts of cruelty, they are *not* of immediate consequence for young children. And even when they are presented later, the approach should be to show that they were as a rule wrong and undesirable and did not solve any problems Most of the wars, even if they are historically important, can be treated as having happened and as a matter for regret and shame to *all* of us as human beings. But the emphasis should definitely be on peaceful, constructive, cooperative, creative, socially worthwhile activities in which men and women have been engaged during the historic process of building up noble values and ways of life. At the higher level, when it is a matter of research studies or of graduate work or even at the secondary level wars and political conflicts can be studied in greater detail in order to get the proper historical perspective and to cultivate the capacity to appreciate facts in their historical context. One of the most objectionable features in the teaching of history—as well as in the writing of textbooks—is that it allows the acts of individuals to be interpreted as an expression of the faith that they happened to profess. This should be avoided at all costs and the children should be definitely guarded against communal or sectarian 'stereotypes' which are often foolishly or

maliciously built up in their minds—that the Hindus are heathens or the Muslims fanatics or the Sikhs cruel or the Christians contemptuous of other religions.

4.15 Interpretation o historical data is, doubtless, a difficult task, and it is, therefore, essential to produce guide material nationally for the use of teachers and textbook-writers. It *would be necessary for this purpose, incidentally, to pro*vide proper training or orientation facilities for writers of books and teachers. This can be done through the training institutions for the teachers and through a variety of programmes such as promision of reference libraries and workshops for the writers of textbooks and other books for use in schools It is necessary to initiate serious thinking on the subject among teachers and educational administrators. The universities should also interest themselves in this problem, and should, indeed, give a lead in bringing about a healthy change in the books written for schools.

4 16 The general observations made in the preceding paragraphs apply also to supplementary readers, charts and other instructional material that accompany basic texts. Very often the illustrations in textbooks are not only unsuitable but of poor quality. In the over-all improvement of textbooks, these points have also to be carefully taken into consideration

4 17. Need for a Guiding Policy by the Government of India

As we have pointed out earlier, neither the Government of India nor the State Governments have so far issued any clear-cut guide-lines which would help textbook-writers and reviewers in adopting the correct approach in the selection and presentation of religious and historical material to school children. This is a responsibility which has to be squarely shouldered without delay by the Central Government in cooperation with State Governments. Such policy direction should be provided in clear-cut terms and offer lucid guidelines.

4.18 Along with this, the Centre should also prepare model or specimen textbooks, lessons and pools of textual material which the States and textbook-writers could use at their discretion in the preparation of their own textbooks. As it is important that a textbook carefully prepared should be used equally carefully in the classroom, departments of education should encourage and sponsor the preparation of intelligently planned handbooks for teachers which will, amongst other things, discuss how such religious and historical topics should be handled in classroom situations.

4.19 This responsibility can be taken over on behalf of the Central Government by the National Council for Educational Research and Training which is already engaged in the writing of model textbooks and the training of textbook-writers. In the performance of this work, one of its main objectives should be to promote national integration and the creation of a forward-looking mentality.

4.20 It is not merely a selection or production of textbooks once in 3 or 5 years which is necessary; it is equally important to have a continuous scrutiny of textbooks and to set up a suitable machinery at the Centre to study and review carefully and critically the textbooks produced in the States, particularly in languages and social studies, from the national point of view. Any helpful comments about their contents, presentation, etc. should be sent to the States, confidentially, if necessary, as technical opinion, and a programme of constant improvement of textbooks promoted through close collaboration with State Departments of Education It is important to avoid offensive criticism or give unnecessary publicity lest it should provoke any 'defence mechanism' on the part of the States The entire process should be carried out at the educational level and in a spirit of good-will as a joint endeavour in an important cause. This effort at the Centre should be suitably supported in the States by a counterpart machinery at the State level.

4.21 The best talent available in the country should be employed for preparing textbooks. As our President (then Vice-President) Dr. Zakir Husain, pointed out, no less a person than Rabindranath Tagore wrote textbooks for school children in Bengal and, in the past, there have been other great and creative writers who have done this labour of love. It was, not. however, then a predominantly commercial venture as it has since become. We feel that the teachers too should be intimately involved in the process of textbook-writing and in trying them out experimentally before introduced in the classroom on a large scale.

4.22. Although the practice of nationalising textbooks has some advantages, it has often not succeeded in producing quality textbooks. Nationalised textbooks often suffer from the same deficiencies which we have tried to analyse but, being Government-sponsored, they are officially considered to be above criticism though there is even less justification for such mistakes and undesirable material being found in them.

4.23 Textbooks should never be produced and evaluated in a hurry. The process of preparing and publishing textbooks should be carefully planned, with due provision for try-out and for inviting teachers' and children's reactions and views in the light of which they can be revised.

4.24. The Education Commission has recommended that private authors and publishers should be encouraged to produce textbooks, and nationalised textbooks should compete with them on the basis of merit. This is the only way in which the initiative of teachers and authors in the preparation of quality textbooks can be fostered We would also suggest that the Central and State Governments may consider the feasibility of utilizing the services of a high-power advisory committee, consisting of a few persons of outstanding eminence, belonging to different faiths, who should *not* be charged with selection of books but with examining

the selected books in order to eliminate such of them as may be objectionable from the point of view of national integration or inter-religious understanding. Alternatively, in order to make the scheme more practicable, such committees, consisting of persons of different faiths, may be appointed for each linguistic region. This question is so important that no effort which will result in the improvement of the present situation should be spared and we are sure that persons of eminence and goodwill will be coming forth to cooperate. If this involves any expenditure of funds in remunerating the members, this should not be grudged.

V. CONCLUSION

5.1 In a multi-religious state, it is no easy task to help the younger generation grow up in an atmosphere of not merely passive mutual 'sufferance' or 'toleration' but of positive understanding and appreciation There is need, indeed, for adopting a comprehensive and national approach which should try to reorient the entire society intellectually and emotionally. But this is a difficult and heart-breakingly slow process. Textbooks provide, in some ways, a quicker and more practicable way of correcting in the classroom—at least to some extent—whatever irrationalities and fanaticisms are engendered in the child's mind through social influences. and substituting in their stead, wholesome attitudes of rational and scientific thinking. Much has been said in the past about the need for improved textbooks, but the question of adequacy and suitability of their content in a modern scientific and secular state has not been sufficiently recognised. It is the urgent and imperative duty of the Government to see that textbooks contribute in full measure in bringing about national cohesion and the development of a progressive and forward outlook in the next generation.

This is the only way in which we can check the tendencies towards reaction, fanaticism and obscurantism which are still, unfortunately, visible in our body politic.

K. G. Saiyidain
Hayatullah Ansari
Gopi Nath Aman
V. S. Jha
J. P. Naik
R. H. Dave

Appendix A

List of Persons Interviewed by the Textbooks Committee

1. Mr. Zafar Ahmed Saddiqi Secretary, D. T. Council. Lucknow 2. Mr. Afzal Husain Nazim Darsagah Islami, Rampur	Representatives of Deeni Talimi Council, Lucknow
3. Mr. Iqbal Husain Khan General Secretary M. P. Deeri Talimi Conference Bhopal 4. Mr Khali-ullah Khan (Advocate) Near Masjid Shakur Khan 5. Shri Aizazuddin Khan C/o Shri S. H. Khan 231, Basti Nizammuddin New Delhi	Representative of Deeni Talimi Conference, Bhopal

6. Dr. Gopal Singh, M.P.
7. Maulana Asad Madani
   Jamiat Ulema Hind
   Delhi
8. Shri V. V. John
   Director of Public Instruction
   Rajasthan, Jaipur
9. Shri Achhut Patwardhan
   C/o Registrar, Poona University
   Poona
10. Prof. M Mujeeb
    Vice-Chancellor
    Jamia Millia Islamia
    New Delhi

11. Rev T. A. Mathias S. J.
Director
Jesuit Educational Association
Delhi

12. Shri R. K. Talwar
Education Secretary
Government of U.P.
Lucknow

APPENDIX B

Some of the Passages from Languages and History Textbooks which are Reported to be Objectionable by some Members of the Minority Communities

(1) "बलवन ने दोआबा के हिन्दुओ को बडी क्रूरता से दबाया । कटेहर में हिन्दुओं के विद्रोह का अन्त करने के लिए तो उसने 8 वर्षों से अधिक आयु के पुरुषों को मरवा डाला और स्त्रियों को दासियां बनने के लिए विवश किया । वह कहा करता था कि प्रजा के असन्तोष और विद्रोह को मैं अपने बल से कुचल दूंगा, किया भी उसने ऐसा ही ।"

(*Hamara Itihas, Part II, Page* 18 *Shankar Prakashan, Aligarh*, 1966)

(2) "कुतुब्बुद्दीन और अल्तमश ने सैकडो मन्दिरों को तुडवाकर इनके पत्थरों से मस्जिदे बनवाई । इनके बनाने वाले थोड़े से विदेशियो को छोडकर अधिकतर हिन्दू ही थे ।"

(*Hamara Itihas, Part II, Page* 35 *Shankar Prakashan, Aligarh*, 1966)

(3) "लेकिन एक राजपूत कुमारी एक हिन्दू कन्या की मर्यादा की रक्षा का प्रश्न है । आज ही प्रातःकाल रूपनगर की राजकुमारी का यह पत्र लेकर रूपनगर से दूत आया है । राजकुमारी ने लिखा है-"कल सन्ध्या तक यदि सिसोदिया-कुल-भूषण ने मुझे अपनी दासी नही बनाया तो फिर वे मुझे इस संसार में नही देखेंगे । महाराज राठौरवंश की कलंकिनी मैं नही बनूंगी । दिल्लीश्वर औरंगजेब मुझसे ब्याह करने आ रहे हैं ।"

(*Nav Prabhat, Part III, Page* 53 *Ram Narain Lal and Sons, Allahabad*, 1966)

(4) "मुगल सम्राट अकबर जब सारे राष्ट्र को पराधीन बनाने का प्रयत्न कर रहा था तब महाराणा प्रताप ने यह व्रत लिया कि जब तक सारा देश अत्याचारियो के दमन से मुक्त नही हो जाता तब तक मैं जंगलो में रहूंगा

सोने-चांदी की थाली में भोजन नही करूंगा तथा जीवन को आडम्बर से परे रखूगा।"

(Hindi Pustak, Part V. Page 82 Department of Education 1966, Punjab)

(5) "शंकर का तांडव नृत्य व डमरू बजाकर पाणिनी को चौदह सूत्रो का उपदेश करना।"

(Hamare Purvaj, Part I, Page 76 Kitab Ghar, Aligarh, 1966)

(6) "नदी की पूजा, तुलसी की पूजा और गाय की पूजा यदि अच्छी तरह सोच-समझ कर करें तो उससे अन्त:करण को अच्छी से अच्छी शिक्षा मिलेगी। रसवृत्ति का विकास होगा और पवित्र तथा सस्कारी बनेगा।"

(Hindi Gadya Gaurav, Page 46, Shiksha Pustak Bhawan, Allahabad)

(7) "भारत पर प्रभाव-महमूद गजनवी ने भारत के एक भाग (पजाब) में तुर्कों का राज्य कायम कर दिया एव भारत का दरवाजा दूसरे तुर्कों के हमलों के लिए खोल दिया। उसने उत्तर भारत के मन्दिरों की अपार-धन-सम्पत्ति को लूट कर एवं उन्हे तोड़-फोड कर हिन्दू विद्या और कला-कौशल के केन्द्रों को नष्ट कर दिया। उसके आक्रमणों से भारत का असीम धन बाहर निकल गया, हिन्दू राज्य टूट-फूट गये और देश दुर्बल हो गया। देव मन्दिरो को नष्ट-भ्रष्ट करके महमूद गजनवी चाहे अपने मन मे कितना ही प्रसन्न हुआ हो परन्तु उसकी इस करतूत ने सामान्य हिन्दू के हृदय में इस्लाम के प्रति घृणा के भाव पैदा कर दिये।"

(Hamara Itihas, Part II, Page 5)

(8) "सुल्तानों की धर्मनीति-स्पष्ट है कि दिल्ली सल्तनत इस्लामी सल्तनत थी, परन्तु धर्मनीति के मामले में सब सुल्तान एक जैसे न थे। उदाहरण के लिए फिरोज तुगलक बडा पक्षपाती था, परन्तु अलाउद्दीन खिलजी एवं मुहम्मद तुगलक ने धर्म और राजनीति को अलग रखने की चेष्टा की।

दिल्ली के सुल्तानो की कुछ बातें ऐसी भी है जो प्राय. बराबर चलती रही जैसे हिन्दुओं को ऊचे पद न देना, मन्दिरों को नष्ट-भ्रष्ट करना एव हिन्दुओ से जजिया वसूल करना ।"

(Hamara Itihas, Part II, Page 33)

(9) "औरंगजेब ने अकबर की उदार नीति को उलट दिया । उसने एक पक्के सुन्नी मुसलमान के रूप में राज्य करना चाहा । अपने विचारो को अमल में लाने के लिए उसने संकोच नही किया । जब उसे अवसर मिला वह गैर-सुन्नियो जैसे हिन्दुओ एवं शिया व सूफी मुस्लिमो के विरूद्ध कदम उठाने में न चूका ।"

"1669 ई० में औरगजेब ने आज्ञा दी कि हिन्दुओ के मन्दिरो को गिरा दिया जाए एव उनके धर्म, उनकी शिक्षाओ और उनके रीति-रिवाजो का दमन किया जाए । इसके दस वर्षो बाद (1679 ई०) जजिया कर गैर-मुस्लिमो पर फिर लगा दिया, यही नही, मुसलमानो के मुकाबले हिन्दुओं पर दोगुनी चुगी लगायी गयी । हिन्दुओ को सरकारी नौकरी से वचित करना आरम्भ किया एवं मुसलमान बनने के लिए उन्हें ऊंचे पद देने के लालच दिए, इत्यादि ।"

"सूफी लोग भी मुसलमान ही होते है परन्तु उनकी धार्मिक दृष्टि बड़ी उदार होती है । औरगजेब सूफियो को बुरा समझता था । उसने उनके एक सन्त सरमद को फासी पर लटकवा दिया । इसी प्रकार दक्षिण के शिया राज्य भी उसके शिकार हुए ।"

(Hamara Itihas, Part II, Page 101-102)

(10) "(1) सिक्ख-गुरु नानक के उपदेशो से पन्द्रहवी शती में सिक्ख सम्प्रदाय चला था । पजाब में उनके गुरु तेगबहादुर ने औरगजेब के धार्मिक अत्याचारों से तंग आकर सम्राट का विरोध किया । वह कैद करके दिल्ली लाये गये और उनसे मुसलमान होने या सिर देने के लिए कहा गया । गुरु जी ने सिर दे दिया, पर सार अर्थात् धर्म न दिया (1675 ई०) उनके वध के समाचार से सिक्खो मे सनसनी फैल गई । अपने गुरु के वध का बदला लेने के लिए उन्होने कमर बाधी । गुरु तेगबहादुर के पुत्र गोविन्दसिंह ने सिक्खो का संगठन करके उन्हे एक प्रबल सैनिक

शक्ति (खालसा) बना दिया । सिक्खो ने मुगलो को कई जगह परास्त किया । एक बार गुरु के दो पुत्र सरहिन्द के फौजदार के हाँथ मे पड़ गये । उसने उनको जिन्दा ही दीवार मे चुनवा दिया, परन्तु मुगल सरकार के अत्याचारों से न तो सिक्ख भयभीत हुए और न उन्होंने हिम्मत हारी । उन्हें अनेक कष्ट सहने पड़े, पर औरंगजेब के जीवन-काल मे बराबर संघर्ष जारी रखा ।"

— (*Hamara Itihas, Part II, Page* 104-105)

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